1: Orans .E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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181 is pre-eminently a social phenomenon: it obtains essentially
527 during festivals, which are community events; it derives from
[535] a festive atmosphere, which only the assembled community can create; and it reaches its community-centered peak as throngs of men and women form a large dancing circle, men and women alternating so that each one has a member of the opposite sex on each side, hands joined together. While I am sensible of anthropological naïveté, the remarks and demeanor of the Santal on such occasions leave little doubt that such performances are a potent source as well as a reflection of community solidarity. During and just after such dancing there is generally great camaraderie, and everyone exchanges cigarettes and rice beer while moving about from one house to another.

527 Although it is above all village solidarity which such festivals
628 enhance and reflect, they also draw together the members of a particular village and Santal from as far as thirty miles away. The Santal are aware of the attraction of the drums and in many regions festivals are celebrated at slightly different times by nearby villages so that one can participate in several, and
181 so that reciprocity becomes possible. "Pleasure," as the Santal
619 understand the term, is a shared understanding which creates
648 immediate bonds with co-tribals wherever they may be from, and, like many other more official boundary-marking symbols of solidarity, also binds the Santal to the neighboring Mundari tribes; it is not uncommon to find some members of several of these tribes participating in any particular Santal festival. To
[273] be sure it is also possible to see drunken men quarreling at a
[578] Santal festival, and other signs of discord, but this will be discussed later.

619 The Santal origin myth validates the kinship ties between all Santal and thereby provides a basis for such unity as the Santal

butter, and melting the butter they make clarified butter. The butter-milk they eat themselves; they also give a share of it to poor people. 234 [735]

Fairly small boys make carts of earth and amuse themselves pulling these round about; they also make small carts of wood for them. They make bows and arrows for them, and they play shooting lizards, grasshoppers and so on with these. When they have become a little more grown up, they play ṭir and kạti[9]. 524 857

The work of small girls is to carry children on the hip, to pluck vegetables and to help their mother with something or other. When they become fairly big, they fetch water and leaves and do different kinds of work. When they are small girls, they play, pretending to prepare rice and curry from dust; when they have become a little more grown up, they dance the road-dance and they sing a good deal.

Until they grow up, boys and girls play together the following: hedel guḍu, bhela ṭaṕ ṭuṕ, sul gutu, bhiṛkại bhiṛkại, kaṇṭhaṛ dare, cạlią, simić simić, kul kul, kaera saṛae sapae, tayo tayo, pusi pusi, duṛuṕ teṅgon, jhampa, bạṭ bạṭ, sikṛić sikṛić, sutạm ọrọk̄, họn gujur, kitkitạ, ạitạu pạ̄iṭạu, and others[10].

g. The sorrows and pleasures of married people.

Some married people live in great peace. The husband lightens the burdens of his wife, and the wife also does the same for her husband. In the evening husband and wife consult together about their work and business. When there is any need, the husband says to his wife: For the present prepare gruel for us feeling your way; at present it is a time of scarcity. And also the wife says to her husband: Exert yourself to procure foodstuffs for us, it is coming to an end; or, the clothes of the children are being torn, how will you provide them with clothes? or, Our son has grown up, will you not look about to get us a daughter-in-law somewhere? He might perhaps commit some offence somewhere and make it difficult for us; or, The children don't listen to me, when I give them an order, how much must I speak? Scold them, so that they become afraid; or, The children are ill, let some one feel their pulse. Such good married people at once listen to each other's words. They work and get their food with one mind. 593

But some women are very bad-tempered; they irritate their husband all day long; they nag awfully, they speak angrily, and easily become sulky. The husband has never any peace. He may talk with somebody or other about something; then his wife will at once impute something bad to him. If the husband is a little late coming from somewhere, the woman will get sulky, and if he asks for water or anything, she will at once speak 578 593

[9] Ṭir is a small piece of wood, some 15 cm long, thrown by one part and met with a stick in the air by the opposite part. Kạti is a small flat piece of potsherd or of wood used in a pitch and toss game.
[10] The Santals have an astonishingly large number of games, many more than those here mentioned; to describe these would require a separate paper.

2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

593 angrily to him, she will meet him with abuse: Pour out yourself and gulp it down, did
• 578 she not give you any? He may be thirsty. She will abuse and scold him, until she makes him angry. Now men cannot take it up with women as regards the mouth; therefore he becomes furious and thrashes her, so that she lies there done for. The woman will howl and abuse him fouly: That woman you have, stab your woman! Bring her, let her cook, gnash it both of you, heaps of it; your stomach, is it not expanding? You blind fool, you staring wretch, die like a beast; did you not see me then? Your burst eyes! Were they in your neck? I will not stay here; do you imagine you are the only man existing? And the children howl uproariously; they run out and cry: Come here, Father,
[627] come here, Father, he is killing our mother. The village people then come and warn the two; and if such happens often, they fine them after having found out what the fault is. Some women are very lazy and squander everything. Some men also are very bad-tempered; without any reason they beat their wives; they find fault with the food and the work, when it is good; all day long they scowl at their wives, and they speak only roughly and harshly to them. And some men squander everything by beer-drinking. When the man or the
[586] woman, or both of them, continue bad in this way they separate, that is to say, some people do; but some people will not separate, because they feel pity for the children. Such people live in great trouble.

h. The sorrows and joys of father, mother, and children.

593 Parents will not beat their children wantonly, if they do not become angry; and they
861 will rather themselves not take food, but, if there is any food, they will give it to the children. In the presence of the mother the father is unable to beat the children; their mother will protect them. And there is very little done in the way of punishing children; therefore they live as they like. If they do not obey when they have been ordered to do something once or twice, the parents will leave them alone and be done with it. And if they are beaten or the like, the children will run away sulky to relatives. These will not upbraid them and send them home; they let them stay; thereby the children get courage. The parents are forced to go to fetch them, and only by coaxing them are they able to bring them home. Also when grown up, the children will commit faults without fear, because they themselves are not punished; the parents are punished. The Santals have much trouble with their children, because the children are not kept in discipline. So long as they are small or live in the houses of their parents, children will not get what they deserve for their bad behaviour; but in their time they will get full retribution for not having respected their parents. Sometimes when they have become utterly worried, the parents will say to their misbehaving children: You young fellow, or you young girl, when we both are no more, you will not get enough water even to clean yourself, and you will be carried away like a whirlwind.

2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

the patients recover, they entertain the medicine givers. Since the time of the Santal rebellion they are not helping each other so much. However much they may have, some people are so stingy, they will absolutely not give anything, they utterly refuse to help. But no one likes such heartless people, and if they themselves fall into difficulties, no one will look at them; they rather say: Thakur is punishing this man in retribution. 476 [178]

Paddy and rice, salt and oil, money they also lend each other without any interest, but not for a long time. If they take this for a long time, we call it a debt, and in this case interest has to be paid. For paddy to be used as food 50 pct. interest, for paddy for seed 100 pct. interest, and for money 25 pct. interest has to be paid. 426

h. Working in company with others.

The Santals, men and women, very much like to work in company with others. When men go to the forest or to some hill to cut wood for a plough, a plough-beam, a yoke, rafters, firewood, posts, roof-beams, cross-beams, and so on, then they go in company. To enter a forest alone is very dangerous, and when you have companions, the work is not so strenuous. Also when going to the landlord or to a money-lender, they help each other, and at harvest time they make their threshing-floors together at the same place, in order that they may not be alone at night, and the work also goes easily in this way. Cattle-herd boys mostly herd in company, three or four of them together; by turns they drive the cattle round about, and when there is any danger, they help each other. The women also, when they go to draw water, or go to pluck vegetables and bring leaves, or when they go to a market or a shop to sell or buy, then they go in company with others. 476

i. Looking people up for a talk.

When they have no work the village people go and look each other up a good deal. The men go about on the pretext of asking for lime and tobacco; they chew the tobacco, and also talk together about their health and circumstances and so on. In the evening they come together at the Manjhi than; they start some humorous conversation, they just together and talk together without restraint about a thousand matters, to ease their mind. The women also visit each other on the pretext of asking for fire or something; but they mostly have their deliberations at the place where they draw water. There they tell each other their troubles and joys and anything happening in the village. But some women do not, like the men, talk what is blameless; their words may be aggravating, and therefore very noisy quarrels sometimes arise. 521 574 [578]

j. Concerning relationship.

The Santals have really two kinds of relationship, relationship by birth and relationship brought about by marriage. But besides these two kinds the Santals arrange village relationship without there being any real relationship. Some people arrange a relationship in 602

n. About pride.

Sensible people do not feel proud. Only stupid people swell up like frogs; all feel disgust for such people. People who were paupers and have become a little well-to-do, or who have acquired a position for themselves by dishonest means, the conceit of such people quickly rises up. People say: "If a servant girl becomes the wife of the village headman, and a servant becomes an overchief, their conceit will not go even on twelve carts". This has been seen from time to time. A few Godet men have in the country deprived village headmen or overchiefs of their position; these mostly swell like boils; among them some are utterly covetous, and their women also scoff at poor people.

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[539]

Thinking they look nice some girls let themselves be praised like a Paradise Flycatcher bird, although they are looking like an owl; they are giving themselves airs.

o. About mocking people.

Santals cannot endure mocking; it pains them very much, and it makes them awfully angry. They will rather stand upbraiding and rebuking words; mocking words they feel itching like the otka[10]. Men do not mock much; women speak vituperatingly to give people pain; they speak very irritatingly, they may make you vexed. Through women's mocking much quarrelling is caused, and thereby people are separated, they are even divorced.

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p. About getting angry and sulky.

Santals do not, like the Dekos and the Turks, become quickly angry; still they become angry when they are much hurt. The men especially get angry, and at such times they are quick to strike; the women become sulky; they quickly become cross and sullen. If you ask them anything at such time, they snarl, and when you say anything to them, they snap at you, as if they were burning you with a nettle. Both elderly women and girls are such. The anger of men is easily appeased; but the sulkiness of women is assuaged only when you coax them a good deal; therefore the women break people in, without needing a training yoke.

152

q. About passionate and irascible speech.

Some men are, when angry, unable to restrain their rage; therefore when people say something to them, they speak passionately to them; but when a woman has become sulky, she will speak irascibly to you, even when you talk friendly to her. The passionate word of a man will glance off like a blunt arrow with a bamboo head; but the rage of a woman is as when your shoulder-blade is shot through with an iron arrowhead.

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[10] Mucuna pruriens, DC., has hairs that cause an unbearable itching.

[11] Oslo Kin. Nus. — Bedding.

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3. *Kisku*

According to tradition, as we have already seen, the Kiskus were the kings of the Santals (Kisku Rapaz). All Kiskus are only glad to admit it and the rest of the clans do not contradict the story. And we come across such expressions as 'Kisku Raj' as current coin with them. At Mayurbhanj, however, none could throw any light on the sub-clans of the clan nor upon their totem. All that we could gather was a myth about the traditional warfare with the clan *Màṛṇḍi*, with whom up till now the Kiskus can have no inter-marriage.

Explaining the genesis of the clan quarrels, Prodhan Nabin Mañjhi of Muruda said, "Once a Kisku Raja married the daughter of a Màṛṇḍi. He went to bring his wife from his father-in-law's place. But the Màṛṇḍi won't allow her to come with her husband. Then the Kisku Raja took by force a good horse belonging to the Màṛṇḍis, as his own was quite useless. At this the Màṛṇḍis attacked the Raja, who in his turn abused them. Now the Kisku fled to the Sòrèns and related his story, seeking their help against the Màṛṇḍis. Next, with their aid the Kisku Raja fought against his enemy and winning the fight left for home." But what became of the wife, he could not say.

This story, corroborated at Udla, ended with the conclusion that the Kisku did not take his wife home.

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614 *Holarrhena Antidysenterica*). This sub-clan does not eat the leaves of these trees.

(ix) Karda Hèmbròm (Kaḍa Hèmbròm?). Also referred to in the Mayurbhanj Census Report.

5. *Màrṇḍi*

[554] [426] [578] The fifth class is the clan of the Màrṇḍis, the rich men and money-lenders of the Santal traditions, with whom, we have seen, the Kiskus had a severe clash. The term "màrṇḍi" means "a weed of rice cultivation (*Ischaemum rugosum*, Salisb)," and we were told that "màrṇḍi" grass continues to be the totem of the sub-clan, Nij Màrṇḍi, and if any of them chances to uproot one such grass, he will make a profound "johar" (*salutation*) and replant it.

The following sub-clans of the Màrṇḍis were noticed at Mayurbhanj:—

(i) Nij Màrṇḍi—with taboo of "Màrṇḍi" grass.

(ii) Miru baha Màrṇḍi :—The flower of a wild plant which yields a good fibre (*Abutilon Indicum*, Don) is the totem of this sub-clan, and they do not even touch these.

(iii) Bhaduli Màrṇḍi:—An interesting story was narrated to us by Sunaram Sòrèn, a Santal college student of Bamanghati, Mayurbhanj, to explain the genesis of this sub-clan, who, he assures us, traditionally belonged at first to the foregoing "Miru baha" sub-group. He said, "Once a *Miru baha*

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Màrṇḍi was going on a journey on a hot noon of mid-summer. Being tired and unable to bear any more the scorching sun-shine, he began to rest under the shade of a "Bhadu" tree (a forest tree; *Vitex alata*, Roxb.) and soon fell asleep. Soon after, a branch of the tree fell upon him, big enough to crush him dead. 614

The other *Miru baba Màrṇḍis*, who were anxiously awaiting the return of the deceased, noticing his extraordinary delay, trudged on the path followed by their lost friend, and reaching the tree saw the stunning sight. And angry with the tree, they vowed to abolish their clan and proclaimed that they would thenceforth be known as "Bhadulia Màrṇḍi," as their friend died under a "Bhaḍu" tree. (A forest tree. *Vitex alata*, Roxb.)

(iv) Sòle Màrṇḍi—A second story was told to us by the student named above, in explanation of the origin of the name of this sub-clan mentioned by him. It is another version of the fabled antagonism between the Kiskus and Màrṇḍis, between whom, even to this date, there is no inter-marriage. 614 578

Our informant said that once a marriage was arranged between a Kisku lad and a Màrṇḍi bride. The Kiskus, forming the bride-groom's party felt thirsty and went to drink water from a tank nearby, after tying their horse to a tree close at hand. Meanwhile, the Màrṇḍis stole away the horse

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614 cleverly enough. The two clans were already in
• 578 terms of enmity, so naturally enough, the Kiskus suspected the Màrṇḍis to be the thieves, and wanted to fight with them. A certain date was fixed for this trial of strength and the venue was to be a jungle.

The Màrṇḍis, finding it difficult to fight against a multitude of Kiskus began to cut all the trees at the height of three and a half cubic feet. Next, they tied turbans of different colours on to the trunks so lopped off, so as to look like soldiers. However, this funny plan proved successful on the day of the fight. The Màrṇḍis arrived early and when the Kiskus followed, consternation ran through their hosts at the sight of the overwhelming numbers of their enemies, and they ran helter skelter, for their lives. From that day Màrṇḍis have enmity with the Kiskus. They do not even marry Kisku girls.

614 [776] The Màrṇḍi bride for whom the fighting took place died soon. After her death, she became a goddess in their sub-clan. She is worshipped along with other gods and goddesses of Màrṇḍis. She is worshipped with a *herak' kalòt* (*a brown pullet*. The meat is eaten by all including women too.) One day, when such a ceremony was going on, the "herak' kalòt" (*a brown pullet*) which they offered was found to be a small one, and the meat of the hen was quite insufficient, for the Màrṇḍi

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their baleful influence. Similarly, some men are supposed to possess "evil shadows," so much so, that even if snakes fall within their ambit, they cannot move an inch. When a child vomits, has bowel complaints or fever, or cries unnecessarily, it is the evil eye that is thought to be responsible for the malady. Let a man's evil shadow fall on rice-beer, lo and behold! it does no more ferment.

To prevent these, Santal children are made to wear amulets of parasites on *Bhela* trees. Incantations are also uttered over some mustard seeds, a few grains of which are wrapped up in a piece of cloth and worn as a charm held by a string round the loins or the neck. In serious cases, the *Ojha* (exorcist) is summoned when he chants incantations and removes the spell.

Magical charms to counteract spells are learnt by many Santals, for, who knows that 'evil eyes' may not lead them to embarrassing situations at village dances, when they may find their wearing cloth being stolen away by invisible hands? And in ceremonies like marriages, the services of an exorcist are sometimes requisitioned to patrol over women with evil eyes or men with evil shadows.

Apart from these, there are various other beliefs regarding the capacity of certain men to cast magical spells. Thus if an inimical person buries anything near a Santal's house, it is thought that an injury is intended.

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is intended. An exorcist is called in, who chants an incantation and allows his stick to strike all over the place. It is an unseen hand which guides him to the spot where the thing was buried. Soon they dig the place and unearth the uncanny deposit made by a malignant enemy, thus counteracting the spell cast. A peculiar instance of this nature is that when a man's cow yields a very large quantity of milk, a jealous enemy may bury milk itself, with the unholy hope that the process will diminish the supply. Similarly, if it is intended to bring harm to a man's harvest, rice is buried, and if a man's death is intended, a bone may be deposited in the earth.

754 756 789 789 578 [954]

Luck

Belief in luck is nothing special to the Santal. He has it in common with all the Munḍà tribes and the semi-Hinduised people of the Central Belt, not to speak of the caste-Hindus, many of whose superstitions have a similar flavour.

777 [171]

The Santals credit some persons with possessing "the luck of the threshing-floor." Those who are thus blest gather more harvest than others, and when they thresh the paddy, more of grains and less of chaff come out. This gift, however, can be 'stolen' by malignant persons and there are special methods of approaching such problems.

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4; Biswas D, E-3,4 (1931-1945) 1956
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177 Further, most of Santals who actively seek the new folds, are either those who are feeling[1] from persecution of their fellow-men for irregularities like forbidden marriages etc. or those who are in dire economic distress, and who hope to gain employment
• [578] and protection thereby. This creates an unhealthy rivalry among the groups and upsets the balance of
797 their tribal society. Though there is no formal out-
177 casting or persecution of the converted tribals, there
578 yet exists a strained atmosphere created by the
184 elimination of the common platform of tribals activity. Participation by converts in all ceremonials and rituals on marriage, birth, death etc. is not possible, and this is creating a separative tendency, tending the promotion of division among the group on economic, cultural and social levels. The tribal solidarity is broken and the group as a whole suffers from such fission.

1 [Erratum: this should read "fleeing." Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

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basket on her head; likewise *Maraṇ Buru* took the bow and arrows and *Mañjhi haṛam* held the axe. Just before sunset the men came to their senses, the priest gathered up all the things, and his wife carried the lucky water-pot. As before, the youths and maidens placed the priest in their midst and again the spirits came and danced with the others. Then in every house, from one end of the village street to the other, they washed the feet of the priest. He put *sarjom* flowers into the hair of the girls who washed his feet, and all the people sprinkled water on to each other. On that day we are free to sprinkle water on anyone else.[1] When we reached the priest's house he poured out two pots of beer and we all drank. Again the dancing began and went on till a late hour.

March 18. Yesterday was the full Flower festival day; today is the 'stale' day of the feast. Yesterday everyone was drunk, and again today they began to drink early. There were many visitors in the village, for we had invited daughters, sisters and sons-in-law to be with us. We had to feed them well, and we were busy with all the preparations. One prepared rice, another flour, while the men killed cocks or goats or pigs, for yesterday they had no time to feast well. Even so, in some of the houses a few people became drunk before they had time to eat. Those unfortunates had no meat either yesterday or today. Most of the time went in feasting, though there was some dancing in the village street, and the dancers sang:

> Let us gather, O elder sister, the *matkom*;
> Let us wear the *sarjom* flowers, elder sister, in our hair;
> Let us drink, O elder sister, the juice of the *matkom*.[2]

Most of the singing was done by a small band of old men and women who went into each of the houses and were given beer and *matkom* flowers by the people of the house. In our part of the village there was a fierce quarrel. Some of the men who went to stop the trouble were themselves beaten and returned very angry to their homes. Before midnight everyone was fast asleep, for all had been drinking heavily. I thought to myself, if anyone came here tonight with evil intent he could steal anything he wanted with the greatest ease; and, in fact, that is what happened. During the night someone stole from the headman's house five goats, male and female."

[1] Water "squirts" are made from bamboo and are used freely.
[2] See Appendix II, No. 18.

St Culshaw M-S' (1902-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

759 [602] not belong to the same generation as the parents of the mother. It is better for her to belong to the generation of the grandparents, because it is not fitting for the woman in childbirth to expose her nakedness before anyone who belongs to the generation of her own parents. Midwives are held in respect, and their work puts them in a relation of intimacy with large numbers of their fellow villagers. They are known as *dhai*, the common word in most parts of North India, but they are also referred to as *ojha budhi* and sometimes as *dak' dul budhi*, "water-pouring old women". The midwife is always a Santal, and being an inhabitant of the same or of a neighbouring village, she is not sent for until the pains begin. At the same time all the married women of the village are informed, and they gather at the house in order, as they say, to give courage to the mother now that her time has arrived. On one occasion I was called in to help in the settlement of a dispute in which a woman had been accused of infidelity by her husband. She had gone to her mother's home before the birth of her child—this being an action which is not in accord with Santal ideas—and the strongest evidence of infidelity offered by the husband was the fact that when the baby was born his wife's mother did not inform any of her fellow villagers. [123] [578]

844 The day of delivery is the mother's "sitting day", and the name describes the position of the mother at the time of birth. The mother may sit either on a mat which has been placed on the floor or on a string bed. There seems to be no rule as to which of these two places must be adopted, except that when a woman has been on the floor for the birth of her first child she will continue to sit there for the birth of later children. In either case she remains in the ordinary dwelling house. She is supported at her back by one of the women, who again must be either two generations removed from her or else be of her own generation. It is the duty of the midwife to cut the umbilical cord, and this is not done until after the placenta has fallen. The child is not put to the mother's breast until after the cord has been cut. This is cut with an arrow, having a coin placed beneath it. This is most usually a copper pice, but it may be a coin of higher value when the financial position of the family warrants it, and the coin is given to the midwife. They say that midwives are able to foretell the sex of children still to be born according to the position of certain irregularities on the surface of the umbilical cord which are caused, I am told, by the twisting or congestion of blood vessels. In addition, if they are desired to do